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alkaline plains and approaches the marshy lakes that are abundantly present in the rainy season and frequently absent in the dry period. The acacia and the eucalyptus are familiar and frequent in both the low and the high lands, and spear grass covers the land in dense growths during the months of rain.

The animals, with certain minor variations, are the usual marsupials and monotremes found in Australia, with the bat and wild domestic dog the only mammalia living in the region. Nature is bountiful with many varieties of birds, fish, and other animals; but vegetable foods, although plentiful, are limited in variety.

The Murngin people belong to the aboriginal Australoid race found throughout Australia—not Mongoloid, Negroid, or Caucasian, but a variant group which seems to be a blend of many of the features of the white and black races.[2] Their language is one of the Australo-Dravidian linguistic group. They belong to a Stone Age culture; were they placed in our own chronology, their technological development would fall somewhere between the Old and the New Stone Ages.

The Murngin civilization is a simple Australian culture with a small hunting and gathering population which lives off the sea and the land. The natural environment which surrounds it and drastically affects native behavior consists of *two changes which make up the yearly cycle*; one of these is extremely rainy, producing a period of scarcity, and the other a dry period when there is an abundance of food. The technology can be described briefly as the adaptive mechanisms of the general society to these two parts of the cycle of nature.

The social organization must be given in a more detailed description. The fundamental basis of the society is an elaborate kinship[3] system in which everyone is related to everyone else. This kinship system is organized into more general units which are patrilineal,[3] exogamic[3] clans[3] which have local territories that were "given to them by the totems."[3] All parts of the clan land have totemic references. Each clan has multiple totems; all clans have at least one, possibly more, sacred water holes where live the high totems, the totemic ancestors, the ancestral dead, and the totemic spirits of the unborn. The names of all clansmen have totemic significance, and the whole general totemic pattern is related to the clan.

[2] See Appendix VII.—The term "Black" in the title of this book, *A Black Civilization*, is not to be interpreted as describing these people as purely Negroid. The term refers, rather, to their popular name, "Australian Blacks," and to the name they accept for themselves from the Australian whites, "Blackfellows."

[3] See Glossary of Technical Terms, page 566.

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also have spatial expression. Vaguer local groups, bands, or phratries group together certain clans within one moiety. 614

The tribe is almost a non-existent unit among these people. Its most explicit element is a dialectic unity, but even here the linguistic variation within small local groups is very highly developed. The organized tribe with the use of chiefs does not exist. The tribe is not the war-making group nor does it enforce law. 619 197

It has long been the theory of a great number of anthropological authorities that magic is an individual phenomenon, whereas religion is a social phenomenon. The Durkheim or French school of sociology has been in agreement with this general point of view, although its members differed radically from the American, English, and German schools in their interpretation of religion. Although I am in general agreement with the social interpretation of religion by Durkheim, I cannot follow him or his school in his separation of magic from religion. It is another thesis of this book that magic is also as much a "church" in the Durkheim sense as religion. A test situation is available in this region because, although the peoples of the northern area believe in magic, they have no magicians such as are found in the south. Their substitution of ordinary religious rituals reveals much about the nature of magic. 121

The social mechanisms which are placed in operation within the group by the spread of the knowledge that a black magician has stolen a man's soul, that is, successfully operated on a man, are presented and analyzed in the chapter on magic. When magic is believed to be functioning, all the members of the society act in a manner exactly opposite to the ordinary in their relations with the unfortunate victim. This means that instead of helping to sustain the individual and allowing him to function as a normal person, these protective devices are withdrawn and the attitude is taken that the man is "half dead" and will shortly die. The effect upon the suggestive individual, it is contended in this book, is sufficient to set up certain psycho-physiological reactions which tend to destroy him. When this individual becomes very ill, the movement of social withdrawal from him ceases, and pressure is then applied through mortuary rites which perform the function of attempting to remove him from the society of the living to that of the dead, further destroying his desire to live and frequently bringing about his ultimate death. 761 764

The sacred world of the Murngin is totemically conceived; each individual by virtue of his clan membership possesses and belongs to 771

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throughout the eight tribes. The horde, dealt with in the chapter on technology, and the phratry may or may not be present in a given area. The tribe is of minor importance in native life.

The Clan

The Murngin clan is an exogamic patrilineal group averaging forty or fifty individuals who possess a common territory which averages 360 square miles.[6] This group possesses one or more sacred totemic water holes, formed by a creator totem, in which the whole of the tribal life is focussed; all members of the clan are born from this water hole, and all go back to it at death; in it the totem's spirits live with the mythological ancestor, the souls of the dead, and the unborn children. The male members of the clan who can be the permanent occupants of the group's land possess totemic emblems in common.

A clan frequently has an exclusive name for its people and another preferred one that defines the language spoken by this people as different from that of all other clans. The clan is exogamous by virtue of belonging to a moiety, which prevents marriage within its half of the tribe. Theoretically an individual can marry into any one of the clans in the opposite moiety. The tribal and intertribal myths of the moiety which are saturated with themes expressing the local organization of these people always devote small parts of their stories to the special circumstances of the creation of a clan. They also give its association with the totems and other elements of tribal life considered important by these people. The more localized myths which concern only two or three clans usually symbolize intra-clan solidarity and inter-clan antagonism. The ceremonies possessed by a clan, like the totems, are ordinarily owned by other similar groups belonging to the same moiety, although local variations in totem and ceremony occur.

The following relatives are always found in a clan: marikmo[6] (father's father and father's father's sister), bapa (father), mokul bapa (father's sister), wawa (older brother), yukiyuko (younger brother), yeppa (sister), gatu (son and daughter), and maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter). In other words, these relatives are in ego's brother's

[6] For additional elements in the clan configuration see Part III.

[6] See Chart II, page 99, for the place of kinship terms in the kinship system. Native terms have been used more frequently than the author would have liked, but it was impossible always to give an exact translation in a few words. It seems better to define a word carefully at least once, and thereafter use the term. (See Glossary of Native Terms.)

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native word for moiety is ba-per-u, meaning the four subsections that belong to each moiety. It probably has reference to bapa (father), although the natives are unconscious of any such association.

The members of each moiety are supposed to speak different languages. The clans around Buckingham Bay, Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island and down the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria say they speak the Ko-par-ping-u language if they belong to the Yiritja moiety, and Djam-bar-ping-u if they are Dua. Actually, vocabularies gathered by the author show no difference between the two so-called languages. Language, however, is a native criterion—the final test—used to differentiate local groups. Even each clan is said to have a "language"; and some have a different dialect, but most within a given area speak the same one. The clans claim "languages" of their own by giving themselves linguistic names in addition to group names (see list, pages 39-51).

The people surrounding the Koparpingu and Djambarpingu area say their moieties have linguistic differences that are like Koparpingu and Djambarpingu, but do not consider themselves as being Koparpingu and Djambarpingu. There is considerable regional dialectic variation among the Murngin clans; the division, however, is not on the basis of moiety, but on that of groups of contiguous clan hordes belonging to the same tribe or to different tribes.

Everything in Murngin civilization is divided on this dual basis. There is nothing in the whole universe—plant, animal, mineral, star, man, or culture—that has not a place in one of the two categories. This division is as clear cut to a Murngin as heaven and hell to a mediaeval theologian, although of course never on the basis of good or bad. The allocation is made by an association that sometimes seems irrational to a European but is perfectly reasonable to the native mind. When one inquires into the underlying concept back of such seeming syncretisms, the reasoning is as justifiable, granted the premise, as for our own classifications.

To illustrate the principle: a red parrot is Dua because of his early association with the Dua creator women; red parrot feathers, one of the chief articles of decoration, are Dua because of this; baskets covered with red parrot feathers are Dua. The spear thrower is Dua, the sting-ray spear belongs to the same moiety, but the wooden spear is Yiritja. The shark belongs to the Dua moiety; the barrimundi is Yiritja, as is black duck.

The above association of objects may seem arbitrary and haphazard

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same moiety is too keen to be overcome by an appeal to moiety solidarity. 616 578

Various parts of the ceremonies are used to give expression to the dual division. In the Djungguan ceremony, subsections, when calling up their dead ancestors, are placed in the moiety order; that is, first the four Dua subsections and then the four Yiritja take turns in calling the names and the illustrious deeds of their dead ancestors. At the end of this ceremony, when food is eaten ritualistically, the members of the two groups exchange food. During the Gunabibi only Dua men paint themselves, since it is taboo for Yiritja men so to decorate themselves for this particular ceremony. Dua men, however, cannot construct the great Yer-mer-lin-di totemic emblem, and this duty and privilege devolves upon Yiritja men, in exchange for which service the Dua men present the Yiritja men with food and other presents. The Dua use a round grave post to mark their burial spots or when they wish to erect a monument to the spirit of a newly dead person belonging to their moiety, whereas the coastal Yiritja raise a ceremonial mast for their dead. The Dua use red feather decorations for their Narra ceremonies; the Yiritja use opossum fur. 616 796 [437] [764] [301]

The totems themselves are largely divided on the basis of the moiety. The list of the clans with their totems, page 39 ff., will show that most clans of one moiety possess their totems in common. There is a considerable regional variation, but the differences are not due to clan divisions. Very occasionally a clan will possess a totem that no other owns, but this is only a temporary condition, for the myth of the two creator women usually is sufficient proof of ownership to other clans, so that in a short time they accept this new totem as their own, provided they belong to the same moiety as the original clan. For example, on the eastern side of Arnhem Land, along the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, all of the Dua clan have totems such as a yam stick, old woman, and young woman, while the Dua clans in the west, which center around the Goyder River, are more concerned with a snake and a complex of totems which surround it, and less with the women and their totemic objects. There seems to be an historical basis for this division which will be discussed later. 616 776

The Phratry

There is a weak attempt on the part of the Murngin to form groups of clans within the moiety, based on the mythological idea of a common association with a common creator totem or an alleged similarity 615 197

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of language differentiating one group from surrounding groups of clans. This grouping on a phratry basis, by no means general, is very weak and of no great importance.

The Warumeri, Wangurri, Wulkara, and Gwiyamil all call themselves Man-dji-kai (sand fly), supposedly the general name for their several languages. Although there is a considerable dialectic variation among the clans within this group, each claiming a distinct language for itself, they all insist that these languages are similar, and distinct and separate from those of all other clans. Even a cursory examination of the vocabularies shows that this is a rationalization, and once again a use of the linguistic criterion which the native feels he must have to separate peoples as his own or as different. The Kolpa of the Yaernungo tribe on Wessel Island and the Wallamungo of the Burera tribe on Millingimbi in the Crocodile group are sometimes added to the Mandjikai group. The Wallamungo speak a very different language so that one who knew only the Murngin tongue could not understand their language; thus it is impossible for the native to apply his linguistic criterion here as a definition for the phratry solidarity. Here, then, they fall back on their mythological association: in the days of Wongar (when totems walked the earth as men), Barrimundi came from the Wangurri country and tried to go on through to the other clans, but the whale and crayfish totems prevented him; in his efforts to force his way through, he smashed himself into many pieces which flew for many miles and landed in the territories of the other totemic clans in his phratry group and made their totemic water holes.

A Murngin says, "When I am in trouble I remember my ranga (high totem) and I go ask his people for help." What he means is not that he would go to the whole of his moiety, but that he would appeal to members of his phratry, connected with him by a myth which is confined to the clans in the smaller group. This manifestation of phratry solidarity is weak, however, and frequently the people within it are the very ones who are in the most intense disputes. Instead of going to members of his own phratry in a time of crisis, a clansman would be far more likely to appeal to his mother's clan. In other words, his kinship organization is more powerful in directing his actions than is his local organization, since it is the demands the kinship organization makes upon the members of the clan which force the whole group to act, rather than the demands made by the clan organized as a local unit.

Other phratries are the Garl-ba-nuk (catfish) of the Mandelpui and

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619 area are used much more commonly than the tribal to describe a particular people.

101 Arnhem Land, north of the Roper River and the upper waters of the Katherine River, has four large cultural groups. The differences are mostly in immaterial culture, and althqugh of considerable importance from a local point of view, the cultures are but subtypes of a larger culture. The four divisions, the first the Murngin, are found among the eight tribes that inhabit the country from Cape Wessel in the northeast, the islands and the coast of the eastern side of the Gulf of Carpentaria to Blue Mud Bay, and eastward over to the upper waters of the Goyder and Glyde Rivers. This culture continues westward to Cape Stewart along the coast line of the Arafura Sea. West of them, including the tribe on each side of Caddell and Liverpool Rivers to the seacoast of Van Diemen's Gulf, the Kariera type of social organization is found. South of Blue Mud Bay, along the seacoast, the Mara-Anula form of social organization appears, and the Arunta type is found in the islands of this region.[18]

101 The Murngin type of culture is possessed by eight tribes: the Murn-
619 gin, Yaernungo, Burera, Yandjinung, Djinba, Ritarngo, Barlamomo, and Dai. The Yaernungo, Burera, Yandjinung, Djinba and Ritarngo are definitely recognized divisions in the culture, although their exact boundaries are not known, for a border-line clan may be in one group for some purposes and in another for others. The Dai, Barlamomo, and Murngin are not clearly defined in the minds of the natives and the designations are of little consequence in their thinking and seldom used. The Ritarngo and Djinba tribesmen to the south and west call these people to the north of them Murngin, and distinguish them as different from themselves. The Yaernungo, north of the Murngin, do the same, but to a lesser degree. The Yandjinung also call the clans in different areas, including the Karmalanga of Banyan Island and the Wulkára of Howard Island, by the name of Murngin; the Murngin, however, look upon them as members of the Yandjinung tribe. The people of these islands usually consider themselves as belonging to the Yandjinung but occasionally place themselves in the Yaernungo tribe.

101 The Dai are very frequently classed as Murngin. The dialect of this
● 597 tribe is that of the clans north of it, which are classed as Murngin.

[18] The names Arunta, Kariera, Mara-Anula, and Murngin are used here not as tribal distinctions, but as types of kinship organizations which form the basic foundation for general variations in the social organization.

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The Barlamomo occupy a similar position in relation to the Murngin. 101
The Dai and Barlamomo can hardly be ranked as tribes, except that the terms are loosely used by the natives for groups of clans belonging to either moiety; and since they cannot be phratries and belong to both groups of the dual division, and since there is a vague recognition of their distinctiveness in their having names and being considered by the people to the north as each one people, they have been ranked as tribes by the writer, with full recognition that such a designation is too ample and solid a term to describe them.

The Djawark and Darlwongo clans sometimes are included among the Dai; the Marderpa group may be classed as Dai, Murngin, or Ritarngo, according to the feeling of the people within the clan or those without who distinguish them.

Within the region east of the Yandjinung, Burera, Djinba, and 101
Ritarngo tribes, and including the peoples known as Yaernungo, Dai, 197
Barlamomo, and Murngin, there is considerable linguistic homogeneity. All the peoples included in the latter four tribes can understand the various dialectic variations found throughout the area. The greatest divergence in dialect is among the Yaernungo, but the Liaalaomir of the Goyder River on the one hand, and the Wanguri and Warumeri of Arnhem Bay on the other, also present considerable variation in speech. The peoples belonging to the tribes in the area mentioned above cannot understand the languages of the other tribes along their borders unless they have learned them as separate tongues. Linguistic ability is very marked among all these people. It would be [191]
difficult to find a Murngin adult who could not speak three or four languages, and frequently men speak seven and eight.

There is greater difference between these northern languages of Australia than there is between French and English. The Burera have the most divergent tongue and are definitely affiliated linguistically with the more western peoples such as the Gun-wing-u and Maung.

As will be seen from the map, the Murngin have many more clans 101
than the other tribes. It cannot be stated as a definite hypothesis, but 174
very likely that the group of the Murngin associated together under the 614
moiety "linguistic" terms as Djambarpingu and Koparpingu are one people and differentiated from the rest of the Murngin. When asked to what people they belong, they always reply Djambarpingu or Koparpingu, according to the moiety. The clans usually classed as belonging to the two groups are:

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101 DJAMBARPINGU (Dua)
174 Liagaomir
Naladaer
614 Djirin
Gwiyula
Djapu
Maradunggimi (sometimes classed with Barlamomo tribe)
Djawark

KOPARPINGU (Yiritja)
Daiuror
Gwiyamil
Birkili
Burilung (sometimes classed with Barlamomo tribe)

If the above hypothesis is true, this group in an earlier period was confined to the area around Buckingham Bay, Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island, and the English Company Islands. I was unable to find a general name covering both divisions to substantiate this historical contention. The Malay trader undoubtedly widened the horizon of the society by his movements along the coast, and with the introduction of the dugout canoe made possible longer, more rapid journeys and wider contacts among the peoples of the various clans comprising this and the present Murngin group; before this time the only means of travel had been by foot or by the frail bark canoe and rafts. It seems likely to me that the Malay's advent, which occurred at least several hundred years ago, provides sufficient explanation for the breakdown of the earlier tribal grouping—which, if similar to that of present-day tribes was a very weak manifestation at best—and for the formation of a larger Murngin group.

197 Pronunciation varies greatly locally. This linguistic differentiation does not coincide with tribal areas, although there is a tendency for the tribes to be linguistically distinguished. As has been stated, all the clans consider themselves linguistically distinct, and members of the two moieties believe they speak different dialects. This insistence on linguistic difference is so extreme that members of the same clan pronounce their words with a suitable amount of variation. Any attempt to state that this dialect or that method of pronunciation is a standard and exact one is likely to be a projection of our own ethnocentric linguistic values. The western Europeans and the Americans, particularly since the advent of the public school, have made an extreme fetish of standard English and correct pronunciation. There has been, with the general urge, a general standardization of speech. We frequently assume that the primitives always do as we do in their speech habits. This may or may not be true. The Murngin have an extreme

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degree of variation; and as far as I could determine, the chief criteria which tended toward uniformity in the language are a use and a pronunciation of the various words sufficiently varied to identify a person with his own linguistic area, and yet with enough speech uniformity to be understood by the people as a whole.

The Murngin clans are listed below, by tribe. The names of each clan "dialect," of the clan country, and of the high, medium and low (garma) totems were, with few exceptions, collected for all. The "sacred names" of water holes and of rangas (higher totems) are from the Murngin "sacred language," which is fairly extensive, including names for each individual, for all the foods eaten, et cetera. Although I was not always certain of the exact translation of the "sacred words," I did learn the identity of the things to which these words referred. A number of the "sacred words" had a number of references in a specific situation.

MURNGIN CLANS

The Murngin Tribe

1.[16a] **WARUMERI**[17] (red cloud) language; **PUREL PUREL** (red cloud) people, also **MANDJIKAI** (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:*[18] Katingalunga (blow fly); *sacred name:* Urlawarla (Northeast wind place).

b. *Camp name:* Wardawardama (crayfish); *sacred names:* Barndangwawi (black duck stone), Minniminni (black duck stone), Bullomiri (black duck stone).—This is a water hole made by the Ritarngo black duck on Malleson Island.

c. *Camp name:* Nirdaoko, Niyoryuna (untranslated).—On Tremont Island.

COUNTRY: Djellidjirri (rocks)—country around Cape Wilberforce; Yamunga—Bromby Island; Onburrer (calm sea)—English Company Islands; Nanginbura (tail of whale)—Elcho Island, 1M;[19] Kaiya (anchor rope)—Elcho Island.

[16a] Arabic numerals refer to clan numbers on the map.—Since I did not go over the entire territory and since the greater part of this country has never been surveyed, some of the locations on the map may be only approximate.

[17] Starred clan names are the ones used on the map.

[18] Camp names are ordinary names used by both sexes; the sacred names are known only to men.

[19] Certain of the Murngin clans are supposed to have clan lands on Elcho Island within the general Yaernungo area. These are indicated on the map by number and "M" only.

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MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg, large basket (warkaitja); low: crayfish, garrawark (mythical son of barrimundi fish), barrimundi, whale, whale rib, dugong rib.

Garma: canoe mast (maraiyer), a red cloud (ripa), a stick (wallo), a line of clouds that indicates the wind will stop (dirmala), bamboo, grave post (urumo), evening star (djirpun), old woman who controls it (Kutjeringo), variety of paper-bark tree (uror), mangrove flower (uetja), silver mangrove (bandjur), fish spear (makur), heron (kormolo), leeches, a swamp, dugong, sting ray, white lily.

2. ÛRORLURL (buffalo fly) people; *KALPU (line of sharp pointed clouds) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Telipia (stone); *sacred names:* Dumara (when Yurlunggur [carpet snake] fell down), Luwandi (hiss of snake), Napinya (lightning: Yurlunggur's tongue)—western English Company Islands.

b. *Camp name:* Moalangul (spray of waves); *sacred names:* Kurlinyina (Djunkgao sisters stopped there), Warlinyina (sun comes up, reference to actions of the two women), Gurwaurlwa (feathered arm band [of the two sisters])—Melville Bay.

COUNTRY: Buadua (buffalo fly)—western English Company Islands; Karranun (large hooked wooden spear)—Melville Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: swamp grass (darango), crab, menstruating young girl (miliyiring); low: plains goana (djinda), yam stick, tail of goana (djinda rapiri), a jungle tree from which spear throwers are sometimes made (tjota), red parrot, young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), foreskin of a man (tapo).

Garma: sea gull (djerak), wood brought in on the tide (uroko), porpoise (burlainbir), moon fish (millika), a rock (burua), young porpoise (puiapuia), morning star (barnumbir), bamboo spear, stone spear, spear thrower (mangel), variety of the wild bee (yerpain), boomerang (garliarli), white feather string (malka).

3. RIRAIDJINGO (snake's teeth) people; *KALPU language.

WATER HOLES: Only Garma wells.

COUNTRY: Tamballia (darkness caused by a heavy rain)—Melville Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 for garmas, but no rangas.)

4. KAPIN (a grass used to poison fish) people; MUKKANAIMULMI language (also called *KALPU).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Daringaminga (a swamp grass); *sacred*

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names: Dupera (a red parrot swimming), Dulerpa (white clay [two Djunkgao sisters painted them]), Kawia (two sisters listen to singing stick).—North of Port Bradshaw.

COUNTRY: Moalunggal—north of Port Bradshaw; Rorronga (sting ray)—west of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 and #3.)

5.*WANGURRI (fresh water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Nutjuruami (stone); *sacred names:* Bolomiri (colored stratified rocks), Yaitpi (rocks), Bangor Bangor (film over an egg), Yurkyurk (duck's waddle).—Mollison Island.

b. *Camp name:* Dalinga (white interior of a cycad palm [Banitja swallowed it]); *sacred names:* Djambarlmurro (stone fire for the palm food), Baiingnarra (Barrimundi split the water hole); Barlwarttji (leaves and sticks carried by the tide).—Southeastern Arnhem Bay.

c. *Camp name:* Tamuitpir (river mouth); *sacred name:* Puimar.

COUNTRY: Mutamil (a fresh water snake)—Mallison Island in Arnhem Bay and on Cape Newbald east of Mallison Island; Dalinga (white interior of cycad palm nut)—southeast Arnhem Bay; Tamuitpir (river mouth)—Mt. Alexander, north of Caledon Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Rungu:* high: Tukaruma (a mythical stone-like creature who is the son of Garrawark), a mangrove log, a man's cough (narlpar), white trunked tree (guriri), black duck egg; low: garrawark, banitja (barrimundi), mangrove fish.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

6.*LUMMAMI language; MALARDORDO (palm tree basket) people.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Naindjaka (name of Cape Arnhem); *sacred names:* Yilkaritpi, Cape Arnhem mainland; Daraiinni (Yiritja sting ray).

b. *Camp name:* Utjingduru (whale nose); *sacred name:* Wimmerri (whale).—Small island off Cape Arnhem.

COUNTRY: Uitjingduru.—Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Rungu:* high: black duck's egg; large basket (workaitja); low: rib of whale, whale's fin (paddle), garrawark, and banitja.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

7.*KOMAITS (northeast wind) language; KAINYAO (a jungle fruit) people.

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WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground); *sacred names:* Waritpui (tied up [when two sisters tied up paper bark]), Gurwan (big trunk of a paper-bark tree), Buikwan (small pieces of bark that blow away when a large piece of bark is torn off a trunk).

COUNTRY: Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground)—Port Bradshaw, southwest of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Rungu:* high: roots of paper-bark tree (tapamur); low: variety of native bee (yerpain), honey stick (garnin), orchid (djelkork), fresh water turtle, mud when turtle buries himself (minbu), a large-leafed lily (damakarla), anchor, kangaroo tail.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

8.*DARLWONGO (fresh water) language; NARKALA (barrimundi) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Golerttji (stake for fish trap); *sacred names:* Garngarn (caught [a ranga log was caught here in mythological times]), Ilpuru (head of Yiritja wild bee), Tapulmirri (chin of wild bee), Tamakar (leg of wild bee), Bongitja (honey).

COUNTRY: Noru (head or nose)—southeast of Arnhem Bay; Garngarn (high ground around the well).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: (See Komaits, #7.)

9.*DJAPU people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Borngorinna (variety of palm tree); *sacred name:* Turrpuitpi (sting-ray prong).

COUNTRY: Garimarla (hole when the great snake went in)—interior, north of Blue Mud Bay.

TOTEMS: *Rungu:* high: sting-ray prong (damarrarwonga), shark liver (djukur), shark's blood (kaparn), head of shark (liamangiwar), shark's teeth and pandanus leaf-thorns (gurrorro), menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: shark (bultmaindji), shark's head dress (warak), white tree found in mangrove jungles (narrao), goona, plains type (djinda), goona tail, mature woman (gungman), yam stick, singing sticks (bilmal), uterus (dulla), small boy (djemerkilli).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

10.*DJAWARK (small black clouds) people; DJAMBARPINGU (small bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Bendringa (native companion); *sacred names:* Tupurla (long forked stick house), Karrimarla (carpet snake's voice).

COUNTRY: Tupurla—south of Arnhem Bay.

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614 Moiety: Dua.

•197 Totems: *Ranga:* high: menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: mature woman (gungmun), young girl (wirkul), clitoris (marnbu), foreskin, cane (gurlbaurlba), goona (djinda), yam stick (ganinyiri), singing sticks (bilmal), fire (malnumba), tidal float-wood (ondoko), red parrot (gurnboko), grub in lily pond (kamerung), black ant's nest (ringdjari).

192 103 616 *Garma:* (See Urorlurl, #2.)

11.*GWIYAMIL (fish place) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

Water Holes: a. *Camp name:* Milmitkutminga (yellow stone point); *sacred names:* Mantgur (fish scale)—Buckingham River.

b. *Camp name:* Gorlokna (|garrawark's| broken spear); *sacred name:* Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay.

Country: Mantgur (fish scales)—southwest of Buckingham Bay on Buckingham River; Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay; Elcho Island channel (11M).

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: crayfish, fresh water turtle (tukarura), mangrove log; low: garrawark, barrimundi, mangrove fish, black duck egg, black duck.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

12.*MERANGO language; DURILI (string bark) people.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Gundaikunga (chips from tree when Wongar Uré looked for honey); *sacred name:* Raimungir (|hear| frilled neck lizard hearing Uré cut the tree).

Country: Gundaikunga (tree with wild bee hive)—southwestern Arnhem Bay.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: black ant's nest, mud hole left by iguana; low: sun (wailir), sharp pointed stick found in wild bee's hive (yungun), honey (melka), black iguana, frilled neck lizard (baltjurda), young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun).

13.*BIRKILI (line of high clouds) people: KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Yandala (line of clouds); *sacred names:* Luinga (snake's scale), Winbara (lightning [snake's tongue]), Barkurda (snake's skin).

Country: Yandala (line of clouds)—western Arnhem Bay; Gurama (firelight)—undefined territory on north central Elcho Island.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: snake (mondukal); low: variety of native bees, orchid (djelkork), honey stick and swat (gurnin), sway-

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grass (wirnikamu), swamp tree from which canoes are made (duwal).

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

14.*DJIRIN people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Binyunbi (shark tail); *sacred names:* Djawarknga (spear [of man who killed the Wongar shark]), Gurella (ripples from shark swimming), Gaiwarndi (stone hill left by shark's tidal wave [see myth]), Durdanga (shark's head).

COUNTRY: Djawarlkna (man who fights by ambush)—north Arnhem Bay Peninsula; Kuranga (sleep)—northwest Elcho Island (14M).

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu, #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

15.*GWIYULA people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marnaitja (small catfish); *sacred name:* Marrapai (Djunkgao's rib).

COUNTRY: Marrapai (woman's rib)—mouth of the Buckingham River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

16.*NALADAER people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maderakama (snake's crawl); *sacred name:* Mukurda ("lace" spear).

COUNTRY: Maderakama (snake's crawl)—west of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

17.*DAIUROR (Manbiri snake) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose); *sacred names:* Burungnaro (honeybee well), Djiringa (honeybee well), Daul narra (honeybee well).

COUNTRY: Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose)—southwest of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: variety of wild bee (gamo), cough (nalpar), banyan tree (djarnba); low: orchid (djelkork), paper-bark tree (barukala), hive in tree roots (walmunao), tree whose trunk is used for making canoes (duval), stick inside bees' nest (guiparu).

Garma: emu (urparu), the root of a vine (yokowa), a bush

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bird (piapi), opossum fur string (uinbul), small variety of stringy bark tree (garaiyurro).

18.*WULKARA (unclean water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marraniyamunguli (cycad palm's leaf); *sacred names:* Mindjiringa (sand fly), gurlmula (armlet).

COUNTRY: Langera (evening star)—Howard Island and part of adjacent mainland; Bardairinga (flat paper-bark country)—mainland southwest of Howard Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Wangurri, #5.)

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

19.*LIAGAOMIR (head in the mud, a reference to a shellfish) language; DING DING (sparks) people; also DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Laerttutna (mangrove trees); *sacred names:* Yaoer yaoer (whisper, also name of house), Marnbonga (clitoris).

COUNTRY: South of Howard Island. (See Naladaer, #16, for names.)

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (Do not possess this variety of totem.)

20.*LIAALAOMIR (Top [head] of a long house) language; GARLBANUK (catfish).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Durdiella (buttocks [place where the Wawilak women sat down]); *sacred names:* Mirrirmina (snake swallows), Ditjerima (menstruation blood). (Another famous well is the Gruana.)

COUNTRY: Mirrirmina—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* high: carpet snake's head (pirlinbir), carpet snake's anus (bundji wirtit); low: caterpillar, carpet snake (yurlunggur), carpet snake's neck (wafish), carpet snake's tongue (this is also lightning, mata wirtit), an iguana, green ant (tapalain), singing stick (marliri), a palm tree (gurlwiri), ridgepole of a house (guro guro), house's rafters (milkiri), uprights (dakal dakal), forked stick used for house construction (kanbi kanbi).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

21.*MANDELPUI (snake's spittle) language; GARLBANUK people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp names:* Mandelpuingumi (woman's language), Dariel (to raise up [snake]); *sacred name:* Mariu (throat of carpet snake).

COUNTRY: Mandelpuingumi (see language)—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

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TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, #20.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

Yaernungo (Black Cloud) Tribe

1.*KOLPA (Black cloud) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Kataanunga (stone knife); *sacred name:* Puikapaiinni (crayfish).

b. *Camp names:* Maranama (leaves moving [from northeast wind]); Buradawart (whale rib); the two water holes on the north part of Cape Wessel Island.

c. *Camp name:* Yiringa (whale bone); *sacred names:* Bangulna (whale backbone), Yaiyuma (whale blowing)—Drysdale Islands.

COUNTRY: Martjimba (farthest point of land pointing into the ocean)—Cape Wessel; Yiringa (whale bone)—Drysdale Island, north of Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*MURRU people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mundakunga (when Djunkgao sisters sat); *sacred names:* Wangurunga (roar of tide), Djurdupula (sun).

COUNTRY: Mundakunga (buttocks)—southern end of northern Wessel Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), woman's mat (ainmara), hawk billed turtle's penis (kurka maipern), lower leg of hawk billed turtle (maipern), snake's head (lia darpa), snake's anus (bundju darpa); low: hawk-billed turtle (maipern), mud fish (karlmata), yam stick (waitjum), red parrot feather belt (yiritpal).
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

3.*MARUNGUN (red ant hill) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: (No Narra wells, only garma) on Marunga Island; on Rabuma Island (Crocodile group). *Camp name:* Garli guli (penis); *sacred name:* Mangaba (penis).

COUNTRY: Tamballia (dark before a heavy rain)—small island east of north end of Elcho Island; Mia (woman)—southwest Elcho Island; Wallera (paper-bark tree raft)—Marunga Island in Crocodile group.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: No *ranga.*
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

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614 4.*PERANGO (line of clouds) people; YAERNUNGO language.

197 WATER HOLES: a. *Camp names:* Djirdikaiinga (ceremonial object in Djungguan ceremony), Garuma (snake's hiss); *sacred names:* Guluma (snake's nose), Malpandi (snake's jaw), Daerungar (snake's back), Komurmandait (echoes of snake's roar [thunder]).—South Wessel Island.

192 b. *Camp name:* Djurdjunga (white paint [used by snake]); *sacred names:* Djuranelpi (bank around the water hole), Burlurlun (sound of spring water flowing).—Eastern Elcho Island.

103 COUNTRY: Niyakona (swallow)—Wessel Island (south); Djuernelpi (boiling water in a well)—northeastern Elcho Island.

616 MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Murru, Yaernungo #2.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

5.*YALUKAL people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: (Not collected).

COUNTRY: Kongo (mangrove tree)—central Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

6.*KARMALANGA (banyan tree's fruit) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Guruturunga (rotten yam); *sacred name:* Gawurlinga (mud).

COUNTRY: Karlkobiri (honey swab)—Banyan Island at mouth of Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Miliyirin (menstruation blood), marnbu (clitoris); low: mature woman (gungmun), uncircumcised boy (dapi), parrot feather hair belt (yiritpal), young girl (wirkul), singing sticks (bilmal), jungle tree (murlolo).

Garma: (See Perango, Yaernungo #4.)

Barlamomo Tribe

1.*MARADUNGGIMI people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kurukaknga (wild bee's head); *sacred names:* Banmala (flight of wild bee), gaiitpi (buzz of a wild bee).

COUNTRY: Bunmala (honeybee flying)—Caledon Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* death adder (maringa or baranana); (see also Djapu, Murngin #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

2.*KIKI or BURILUNG people; KOPARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maiondiji (wrapped anchor rope); *sacred*

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names: Gannal (wrapped anchor rope), murdarkara (tide pulling on anchor rope), nuiyul (anchorage). 614

COUNTRY: Maiondji (wrapped anchor string)—Caledon Bay. 197

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* low: small snake (burulu). 192

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.) 103

Dai (Barrimundi) Tribe 616

1.*MARDERPA (crocodile) people; DAI language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kakarwilia (sound of water running); *sacred names:* Dulwarrikari (swamp), burnunburnunmi (swamp grass).

COUNTRY: Dulwarrikari (swamp hole)—interior north and west of Blue Mud Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Crocodile (barro), crocodile egg (lainyaer), crocodile's nest (yalo), crocodile intestinal fat (djirimbirlpirl), crocodile head (mirlkor), kangaroo tail, fire (urtja).

Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MARUNGUN (red ant's nest) people; DAI language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mangaia (stench of a dead man); *sacred names:* Nimaindja (knees of women), djumbulwarra (the name of the ceremonial calling out of the sacred names).

COUNTRY: Mangai (stench of a dead man)—Blue Mud Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu; Murngin #9: all rangas the same, except Marungun have no shark ranga or any of the shark's body parts for totems).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Ritarngo Tribe

1.*BRINGEL (spear grass) people; RITARNGO (spear grass) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Garlinga (testicle of a Wongar man bitten by a catfish); *sacred name:* Burawarndji (big stone egg left by a wild duck).

COUNTRY: Marda (small trees, any species).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Kamur (big stone), kangaroo tail; low: black duck, a flat stone, duck egg, duck's nest.

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*WAWILAK (two mythical creator sisters) people; RITARNGO language.

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614 WATER HOLES: (Did not record, but notes show references to the two Wawilak sisters).
197 COUNTRY: Djindjikara (deep hole).
192 MOIETY: Dua.
103 TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, Murngin #20.)
616 *Garma:* (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Djinba (Swamp) Tribe

1.*GUNABLINGU (black goose) language; GURUMBA (black goose) people.
WATER HOLES: (Did not collect.)
COUNTRY: Burawarndji (white stone)—Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: split stones when fresh water spring flows; low: swamp snake. (They have others which were not recorded.)
Garma: goose (guamurtji), goslings (birwit), red water lily, goose egg, goose nest.

2.*KURKAMARNAPIA (flying fox's penis) people; DJINBA language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Gurwa gurwa (jungle of bamboo); *sacred name:* Guruwillin (variety of palm).
COUNTRY: Mirnaitja (high hill); golambait (honeybee excrement)—upper Goyder River.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalamoir, Murngin #20.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

Yandjinung Tribe

1.*BARLMAWI people; YANDJINUNG language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Urelnga (spirit of a snake); *sacred name:* Birimbirda (a snake's spirit).
COUNTRY: Urelnga (spirit of snake).
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: munbi (mud hole of a turtle), female fresh-water turtle (minala), crayfish (takaowa); low: grebe (djarng djarng), grass under fresh water (norit), fresh water turtle, small snake (munbi), large leafed water lily (djermunda).
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MILYINGI people; YANDJINUNG language.
COUNTRY: Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* several varieties of unidentified fish and birds.
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

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3. URKIGAINDJER (stringy bark flower) people; YANDJINUNG language.
   COUNTRY: Djimbi (vagina)—south of Cape Stewart, but not specifically located by the author.
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* gaimbu (fish net), gurdamurko (catfish), wanduma (mud fish), baltjurda (frilled neck lizard), yungun (sharp stick found in bee hive), wirkul (young girl), gungmun (mature woman), baidjo (yam stick).
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
4. *KURKAMULMUL people; YANDJINUNG language.
   COUNTRY: Inland southeast of Cape Stewart.
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* singing stick (bilmal), young woman (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), iguana; others unrecorded.
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
5. DAWERAO
6. MANIDJIBUNG
7. *NARNARO

Burera Tribe

1. *WALLAMUNGO people; BURERA language.
   COUNTRY: Part of Millingimbi Island, Crocodile group.
   MOIETY: Yiritja.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
   Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

There are other Burera clans which were not recorded.

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611 613 descent group which can be brought into focus by consideration of its corporateness, its sense of common acting and belonging, its oneness as the *babaru*. I would prefer to call the members of this *babaru*, in totality, a *unilineal descent group* (e.g., Fortes, 1953:25) or *corporate descent group*. In its narrowest sense it is the direct line from F.F. to S.S., in its widest it incorporates male siblings of these persons, and female siblings of each generation grade who have not married outside. But the corporate descent group must exclude female siblings who are not coresident, for the term "corporate" suggests sufficiently close residence to enable more or less regular participation in organized group activities.

Now the patri-line suggests agnatic descent. Diagrammatically or otherwise we can speak of this collection of people as having each a definite position in such a *line*, but together they form the unilineal descent group and behave as a corporate unit. I do not consider that the use of the term "local line" in preference to "descent line" refines our definitions. But if we use descent line or patri-line to signify the type of descent, and to refer to an EGO's *immediate male* forebears and descendants, taking into account the depth of genealogical memory (in this case normally five generation levels, two above and two below), then it is a useful term. If we are to indicate the corporateness of the *babaru*, which will include male siblings and their S. and S.S., as well as unmarried female siblings of each of these, then we must use a descriptive term like "unilineal descent group" or "corporate descent group" or even Leach's "local descent group." The diagrammatization of this group may be designated the "local line," signifying its acknowledged totality.

D. *The Patri-Line (Descent Line): Corporate Descent Group.* Now the patriline (descent line) is the minimal descent group. It is coresident with the maximal descent group, i.e., the totality of the acknowledged corporate descent group noted above.

611 613 621 All these male relatives (kin) with their wives occupy a specified tract of country over which they have hunting and fishing rights. In this area reside the spirits of their ancestors; in it are found their sacred sites and totemic centers, and to it belong their sacred designs and emblems. Excluding their wives they are the *corporate descent group;* including their wives, they are the *local horde*, the male-female co-operative hunting, fishing, and food-collecting unit.

613 614 621 ● 197 [602] E. *Parallel Descent Groups (Linguistic Group).* But within this specified territory are *parallel descent groups*. There may not be many of these, perhaps no more than two or three or at the most half a dozen. But together they form the *mada* or *linguistic group*.[4] Persons of the same generation level in these parallel descent groups are classificatory brothers, acknowledging a common ancestry, which may not always be genealogically traceable. They do not form a *clan* (*mala*), but together (as parallel descent groups) comprise one of several linguistic groups which make up the clan. Several *babaru* of varying size, then, in a parallel fashion, form the linguistic group.

613 F. *Minimal and Maximal Range of Babaru.* The *babaru* (the corporate descent group) tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line.

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Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *bäbaru* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *bäbaru;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *bäbaru* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *bäbaru* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

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ritual occasions. Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their binding ritual and economic obligations, the descent group as such is the only unit to which one may turn to obtain aid which will be given more or less automatically.

As Leach has said (1951:53), "the network of kinship relations embraces a great number of local groups [corporate descent groups] and ties them into a kind of loosely knit political system; but throughout the population so linked there is no strong sense of social solidarity and in some cases there are even wide differences of language [as among the linguistic groups] and culture [not in this case, however] between different parts of the one system." That is to say, the usual characteristics of tribal organization are lacking; and it is for that reason that these people of eastern Arnhem Land belong to what I have called the Wulamba bloc, speaking a number of related dialects of one language which in toto are referred to as Miwoidj.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The Wulamba material carries a number of general theoretical implications. These concern primarily, in this context, the corporate or unilineal descent group. The minimal propositions discussed by Leach (1951:52–53) mainly refer to the question of relationship between wife-givers and wife-receivers, and the differentiation of status. These arguments regarding the relevance of status concepts to the analysis of "bride-price" (i.e., bride-wealth) and dowry have not been followed up to any extent here. The status concepts which do exist in Wulamba social life, and are reflected in their kinship system, are those dependent on seniority and reinforced by ritual and sacred ceremony. Other factors linked with status considerations are the prestige attaching to fighting ability, to proficiency in magic, and to parenthood as such. Status derived from these sources need not coincide with ritual and ceremonial status, nor with status associated with seniority in a descent group or a linguistic group. Nevertheless, discussion of all these features would be relevant in any detailed study of kinship and social organization (see Sharp 1934:418–20). But status dependent on being a "wife-receiver" or "wife-giver" is to my mind not relevant. A man's status is not necessarily derived from or enhanced by his being a "wife-giver." It so happens that the "wife-giver" will be socially "superior" (although the term "superior" has connotations which I do not think are applicable here), but he is possessed of this status whether or not he accedes to the expectation that he will give his daughter to his Sr.S. I admit, however, with Leach, that a more detailed analysis is necessary of the economic aspects of the effects of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. As he states (1951:45), "the reciprocities of kinship obligation are not merely symbols of alliance, they are also economic transactions, political transactions, charters to rights of domicile and land use."[5]

Leach points out that when Kachin-type marriage (and presumably Wulamba marriage) occurs—i.e., matrilateral cross-cousin marriage—it is part of the political structure. Now this may certainly be the case among the Kachin, or among certain African groups, but is it the case among the Wulamba? Our

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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131 from the Church Missionary Society settlement at Groote Eylandt,
797 and 90 miles from the nearest Methodist Mission at Elcho Island. Apart from the Mission stations of Roper River, Oenpelli, Goulburn Island, Milingimbi, Elcho Island, Yirrkalla and Groote Eylandt, which fringe the great Reserve, there is no other European settlement, except the new base subsidized by the Northern Territory Native Affairs Branch at Ambu Kambu on Groote Eylandt.

136 The whole region is rich in indigenous foods and resources, particularly along the coast. The sea abounds in dugong, turtle, fish,
262 crayfish, shellfish, oysters, and crabs: inland, on the plains and in the jungles, there are wildfowl, emu, wallaby, kangaroo, and smaller animals, fruit, nuts, vegetables, berries, and a large variety of other bush foods, with quantities of fresh-water fish and crocodiles in the streams and rivers; and at times buffalo which have wandered eastwards from the Buffalo Plains west of Oenpelli. So plentiful is the food that, even in bad seasons, the quality may diminish, but rarely the quantity.

b Social Organization:

114 Before proceeding to our main study, it is necessary to outline
184 briefly the structure of north-eastern Arnhem Land society. The work of Professor Lloyd Warner is the most reliable in this respect, while
121 the Rev. T. T. Webb and Dr. Donald Thomson have written on the subject.[1] The reader will find sufficient detail in these for our present
177 purpose. But it should be borne in mind that the organization of Yirrkalla society, although basically similar to that of Milingimbi, is in many respects decidedly different. Dr. Warner viewed aboriginal social life through the eyes of Milingimbi informants, influenced by cultural trends from Cape Stewart and the inland, while the present writer views the same position from the Yirrkalla point of view, uninfluenced to any marked degree from the west, but responding to contact from aboriginal groups to the south and south-west (this is particularly apparent in our study of the Kunapipi cult).

101 These people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, had a general term for themselves—the Wulamba group of clans, forming a tribe with a more or less common cultural background: natives outside this region, such as those at Groote Eylandt, called them the "Balamumu" confederacy. Balamumu may
614 be broadly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people.
197 The varying dialects (termed *mata*, "tongue") of these clans (*mala*)
616

1. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York and London, 1937; T. T. Webb, Tribal Organization in Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 406-411; A. P. Elkin, Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 412-416; D. Thomson, *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 31-34.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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are collectively known as Mi:woitj *mata*. Throughout the whole area the territory is divided between a number of clans, some of which have become extinct, while others have had their population seriously diminished. These clans have allocated to them certain *mata* (or linguistic groups), which may be interchangeable between clans belonging to the same patrilineal moiety. There is a pronounced emphasis on the importance of the *mata*, each of which exists as an almost independent unit. Again, many of these *mata*, like the *mala*, have become extinct or been absorbed by more powerful groups. They are of patrilineal descent, but there is a strong tendency for a person to feel some attachment to the *mata* and *mala* of his mother and mother's brother. These *mata* and *mala* belong exclusively either to the *dua* or to the *jiritja* moiety, and there is no variation in the use of these terms throughout the whole area.

The moiety is the most important control in the social organization of the Wulamba bloc: it divides all *mata* and *mala*, the whole life of the people and the known universe, into two groups, and [illegible]ates all those belonging to one moiety. The moieties are exogamous, so that they remain the basis upon which marriage rules depend. All the *dua* people, for example, are *dua'kundit* (i.e. of one family) and the *jiritja* people, *jiritja'kundit*. This division of the people into moieties is said to have begun in the Eternal Dreaming Period, when the Djanggawul Beings removed from their uteri the first male and female predecessors of the present-day groups. Although Djanggawul themselves were *dua*, they were able to define the two moieties in their progeny. But Laintjung, being the chief *jiritja* Ancestral Being and a contemporary of the Djanggawul, assumed also the responsibility for establishing the *jiritja* moiety. The esoteric significance of the terms *jiritja* and *dua* is to-day unknown, although old and reliable aborigines state that both these moiety terms convey the meaning of metamorphosis: that is, they refer to a state of transition from the period in which the great Ancestral and Spirit Beings lived (i.e. the Totemic era), to the development of man as he is in this age.

These people also have a term, *jutu'indi*, which refers to all *dua* and *jiritja* people together, and not merely to a tribe consisting of both moieties, as the Wulamba. *Jutu'indi* is the concept of moiety unity, and may be loosely translated as "beginning"; for the people themselves say, "it is *jutu'indi* because, if I'm *dua*, *jiritja* is my mother, *dua* my daughter and son, and we are all one. . . ." But *jutu'indi* refers principally to members of inter-marrying *mata*, and not always to *mata* in outlying areas: that is, it is apt to have a restricted connotation.

Another interesting aspect of these moieties is that the *dua* seems to be associated with the ancient and purely indigenous belief, ritual and ceremony of the people, while the *jiritja* is concerned more

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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with introduced or external themes. The Djanggawul and Wauwalak Spirit Beings, the guardians of the most sacred and esoteric ritual, are *dua*, while Laintjung, Baijini, Macassan and Badu mythology, ritual, songs and belief are *jiritja*.[2]

As we have said, the *mala* and *mata* belong either to one moiety or to the other; but detailed topographical maps of the region reveal that clan territories are very elastic, so that isolated sites relating to one moiety may exist in the clan country of the opposite moiety, and so on. Further, the traditional home territory of one group may be situated elsewhere than it is to-day. This is often discovered only by analysis of clan mythology and its relationship to that of other clans, and the inclusion of linguistic groups in clans which originally were not associated with these particular *mata*. The whole study of clan and linguistic group organization is extremely complicated. We shall, however, mention several of the best known of these, in order to demonstrate their complexity: it is not necessary, for the purpose of this work, to deal with them in any detail.

Dalwongu is a *jiritja mata*, that means "Spring water flowing after rain and the swamp bird, *wanba*, calling out when he sees it". It belongs not only to the Nungulrulpoi (meaning "a shoal of *gunbirawi* young mullet") whose alternate name is Numbiripala (meaning "those who subincise", that is, they are influenced from Rose River: *vide* the body of this work), or Malar'watjeri (i.e. "the clan of the subincision"), but to others. These particular Dalwongu are distinguished from the others by the "heavy" quality of their language. Allied to this Dalwongu *mata*, within this particular *mala*, are the Kalaulwun (meaning "the *wanba* bird in the bamboo tree") and Mararba (that is, "the *wanba* bird") *mata*, who belong also to other *mala* and not only to the Nungulrulpoi. The alternate term for the *mala*, Malar'watjeri, is used also as a separate *mala*, and its *mata* are Dalwongu, Bilmalandji ("paperbark near the salt water") and Di:agoi (meaning "paperbark"): this Dalwongu group is allied to the first, and to the other *mata* which are rightfully Malar'watjeri.

Another Dalwongu group belongs to the Ngelkala *mala* (meaning

2. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309–326, 2 plates and text figures; Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103, plate; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332; R. and C. Berndt, Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication (a detailed study of the Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern Arnhem Land); R. Berndt, *Daughters of the Sun* (a further study of the Djanggawul cult from the north-central Arnhem Land point of view), for publication; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People* (F. W. Cheshire, for publication); R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (sexual behaviour in north-eastern Arnhem Land), volume for publication.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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All of these were linguistic groups distributed among certain clans.

"Ah, what a lot of languages we talk," said the Li:alauwermiri. "But although our languages are slightly different, we all share the same *mareiin* (*rangga* totemic emblems), and have the same ceremonies."

All the Pythons from the various *dua* groups called out ritually: *'a: ! ko:kjei ! 'a: ! ko:kjei !* And the sound of their voices was like thunder.

Then the Wessel Islands Python asked the Li:alauwermiri Julunggul, "What have you had to eat?"

"I couldn't say", replied Julunggul.

"But you must tell me what you have had," insisted the other. The Li:alauwermiri was *gu'rungkngu* (that is, unwilling to answer correctly), and kept refusing to tell the other Snake. But at last the first Snake said: "I had a rock wallaby and a parrot fish."

"All right, I'll tell you what I had", the female Julunggul replied. "I had two nice little girls and a baby; they are in my body."

The others would not believe. They repeated, "We had a rock wallaby and a parrot fish."

"That is nothing", the Julunggul boasted, "we had those Wauwalak."

Then the Julunggul made a tremendous noise, called *muljulngo* or *du:ldo:n*, now part of the sound of the bullroarer. The two terms are now archaic.

* * * *

It is necessary to pause at this juncture, and comment on some of the aspects dealt with in this part of the myth.

In the first place, there are many versions of the Wauwalak myth, but the most reliable of these are contained in the elaborate song cycles. The above version, which is outlined only briefly and has a number of appendices, differs in several minor points from that set out by Dr. Warner,[5] obtained in the vicinity of Milingimbi. For example, the Wauwalak Sisters in his version had already a child when they reached the outskirts of Muruwul (there termed Mirrirmina), and the younger sister gave birth to a baby on the way; both children were male. It was said that menstrual blood polluted the sacred well; while the Rock Python itself was male, called the Big Father. The flood theme, after the swallowing of the Wauwalak and the conversation of the various *dua* Snakes, makes its appearance in other versions which are not appended here.

The fact that the Rock Python, in the version we outline, is female (called by informants *jindi'ba:pi*, big/snake, and not *jindi'ba:pa*, big father: *ba:pi* and *ba:pa* may perhaps have been confused in Warner's version) is an important point, for it stresses the aspect of

5. L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 250–259. Since working at Yirrkalla in 1946–47, the writer has carried out additional research at Milingimbi (1950) into the Wauwalak mythology and songs. Certain local variations are found there, which it is proposed to discuss later in some detail.

8; Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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period to the present day. We shall follow the contact of the Aborigines with alien peoples, review the repercussions, and notice something of the effects upon their traditional culture.

The Arnhem Land Reserve, one of the largest in Australia, stretches east and south-east of Darwin in the Northern Territory, across to the western shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

The mangrove-lined coast on the north faces the Arafura Sea, separating Australia from the densely populated islands of Indonesia and New Guinea; and adjacent to it, running from west to east, are the islands of Croker, Goulburn, Wessel and Bremer (once Melville). Into the sea here and there flow large rivers, which further inland are usually banked by thick jungles of cypress, gum, stringy-bark, wild fig, bamboo, cycad, screw-palm (pandanus), and many other trees and bushes known only to the botanist and native. And tidal salt-water creeks flow among the mangroves, the home of sea-birds, crocodiles and sharks.

On the east the same almost monotonous coast-line fronts the Gulf of Carpentaria, dotted with such islands as Woodah and Bickerton, Winchelsea and Connexion, close to Groote Eylandt.

This great Reserve is bordered on the south by the Roper River; and on the west a natural boundary of rocky hills and sandstone halts the encroaches of the buffalo hunter, who has established himself on the fertile plains and swamps around the Adelaide, Mary and Alligator rivers. In the heart of Arnhem Land, gorges, mountains, swamps and rocky plains spread through country still partially unexplored.

Scattered through the Reserve are Mission settlements controlled by the Church Missionary Society and the Methodist Overseas Mission—Oenpelli, Croker Island (a "Half-Caste" settlement), South Goulburn Island, the Crocodile Islands (Milingimbi), Elcho Island, Yirrkalla, Groote Eylandt, and Roper River. To the south-west, Beswick Government Cattle Station and Maranboy Reserve can barely be said to be in Arnhem Land properly. Near the western border of Arnhem Land, in the so-called "Buffalo country", are two unoccupied Aboriginal Reserves, the Manasi and Woolwonga; and on the south, the attraction of neighbouring cattle stations (such as Mainoru and Roper Valley) has contributed to the decline of the local population.

8: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1954
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THE ARNHEM LAND ABORIGINES

Arnhem Land belongs to two main groups, who differ considerably insofar as language and certain aspects of their culture are concerned. Perhaps the best way to present a clear general picture of their culture patterns is to outline and contrast the elements that are outstanding in both. For the sake of brevity we shall not digress to discuss minor local deviations like those of the Groote Eylandt and Rose River areas. 101

A common cultural bond links most of the Aborigines of western Arnhem Land, taking Oenpelli, the Goulburn Islands, and the Liverpool and King rivers, with its eastern boundary near Cape Stewart; but there are some traditional deviations, as well as some linguistic differences. The Maung of Goulburn Islands seem to have been at one period more or less isolated from contact with the mainlanders, who rarely came over to the islands; but at ceremonial times the Maung would come to Sandy Creek, on the mainland opposite South Goulburn Island, for the big *maraiin* (sacred) rituals. 101 184

The people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, refer to themselves as the Wulamba group, a number of clans that form a "tribe" with more or less common cultural background. Natives outside this region, for example those at Groote Eylandt, often call them the "Balamumu Confederacy". "Balamumu" may be roughly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people. The dialects of all these clans may be classed together as Miwoidj'mada. The whole eastern area is divided among a number of clans, some now extinct and others seriously diminished in population, which share certain linguistic groups. These language groups are considered most important, and they belong exclusively to either the *dua* or the *jiritja* moiety, a division which extends throughout this whole area. Descent within them is patrilineal, but a man (or woman) always feels some attachment to the clan and linguistic group of his mother and mother's brother. 101 184 619 [197] [616] [611]

In western Arnhem Land, tribes and groups of tribes are (or were) independent units, not subdivided into clans. Tribal blocs were formed by those dependent on their neighbours in matters affecting economy, marriage and secular and sacred ceremony, and certain tribes recognised closer ties with one another than 184 619

Kinship is very important in Australia and is the chief factor underlying social organisation and behaviour both between individuals and between groups. Every individual is born into a kinship pattern which under the classificatory system defines his relationship not only with his own kin but also with all those whom he meets during the ordinary course of his life. Kinship terms, or terms of relationship, are used in place of personal names. They are not mere terms of address, for each carries a set pattern of behaviour. 602

Mălla, in literal translation, any *group*, but used also in a special sense for an aggregation of clans linked together by the possession of common totems or by the sharing of at least a part of a common totemic inheritance. 614 615

Moiety (see dual division).

Patrilineal. Descent in clan and in certain other social groups is traced either in the male or in the female line, i.e. through the father or through the mother. When reckoned through the father it is *patrilineal* and when traced through the mother it is said to be *matrilineal*. 000

Totems and totemism. A totem has been defined as an animal, plant or inanimate object, with which a person, or a group of people, believe that they have a special relationship. This is true, but it does not go far enough. Many different kinds of totemism are known in Australia, including clan, moiety, conceptional, personal, cult and ceremonial totemism. In all, a very special relationship exists between the individual or the group and its totem or totems. Often, in clan totemism, the people believe that they are descended from one of the totemic ancestors of their clan and that these ancestors, called *wŭŋarr in* Eastern Arnhem Land, founded the clan and its culture and way of life and established the traditions which the people follow today. 779

Tribe. In Australia the tribe is merely a linguistic unit, a group of people often very loosely united by the possession of a common language, and whose component clans occupy a certain definite territory. It is certainly not the most important unit of social life. It is not the land-owning group, the law-making or war-making group and has no political autonomy. Tribal organisation is conspicuous by its absence from most of Eastern Arnhem Land, although normal tribal organisation occurs at Groote Eylandt, at Bennet Bay and on the southern boundary of the territory, along the Roper River, as well as from the vicinity of Cape Stewart westwards. [197] 619 [184]

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

[P.406]

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION IN EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

By T. THEODOR WEBB[1]

131 THE aboriginal peoples referred to in this paper are those occupying the country to the north-east of a line running roughly from Cape Stewart on the north coast of Arnhem Land to Blue Mud Bay in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and extending to the sea coast and the adjacent islands. The social organization of these peoples is marked 621 by a very pronounced emphasis on the importance of the horde, each of which exists as an almost entirely independent unit. These hordes are very numerous; some of them are very small, and there is definite evidence that several of them have actually become extinct, at least in so far as their patrilineal descent as a separate unit is concerned. With the few exceptions mentioned below, each of [197] these hordes, no matter how small, has its own particular dialect. In many cases the dialectal difference is small, and in at least one instance would appear to be consciously artificial.

621 The two moieties into which the aboriginal society is divided are known as Yiritcha and Dua respectively, and these names are 616 used without variation throughout the area indicated. Each horde is exclusively Yiritcha or Dua, as the case may be, and every man [582] obtains his wife from some other horde of the opposite moiety.

621 The two moieties are divided into eight subsections, four Yiritcha and four Dua, and the prevailing form of totemism includes 616 the definite relationship of all members, both male and female, of 617 each subsection (*marlk*), with some particular bird or animal, which is known by the individual as his or her *dzugoin*. These *dzugoin* have, as far as I am able to discover, no association with totem centres. Every member of the same subsection possesses the same *dzugoin*, irrespective of the horde to which he belongs.

[1]Chairman of the North Australia District of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australia.

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

It will be observed that two Kopapingo hordes are included in the Berrkali *mala*. These two hordes, though widely separated in location, speak the same dialect, and so are called by the same name. A Kopapingo horde is also found in the Wurambirrpirr *mala*. This horde speaks the Kopapingo dialect, but possesses the *muruian* of the Wurambirrpirr *mala*, and not those of the Barrkali *mala*. My informants were very definite that this horde therefore belonged to the former *mala*.

In the Murungun *mala* the first three hordes, though widely separated, speak the same dialect and so are called by the same name. In the case of the Kukau-urrta and Murangarrpiara it would appear that the horde is co-extensive with the *mala*. Though these *mala* are both small, it may be that in each case there are more than one horde which speak the same dialect and adjoin each other in location.

A number of the hordes have, in addition to the dialect name, a local community name also, *e.g.*, Malau-ulmurrk is the local name of the Lamumiri-speaking horde of the Murngin *mala*. As these local names are rarely if ever used by a man when speaking of his own horde, closer investigation over the whole area may reveal that they are possessed by all the hordes.

Though I have been resident among these people for the past six years I have failed to discover any name which is applied to any combination of hordes of both moieties. Neither have I discovered a name for the language of which the various tongues spoken are dialects. Kopapingo is sometimes used for the various Yiritcha dialects and Jumbarpingo in the same way for the Dua dialects.

As will be gathered, I disagree with Dr. W. Lloyd Warner in his application of the name Murngin generally to the hordes of both moieties (*Oceania*, I, 251, 331 and 457; also *American Anthropologist*, n.s. XXXII, 207; XXXIII, 172). As I have shown, the Murngin is purely a Yiritcha *mala*. All my informants are most emphatic that no Dua man could possibly belong to the Murngin group. It is but one of several Yiritcha and Dua *mala*, the hordes of which are scattered over the same area. I therefore consider Dr. Warner's use of the name to be unfortunate and misleading.

If a tribe is to be defined as a number of neighbouring hordes which are united by the possession of a homogeneity of language

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 OI17 Murngin OI17

and custom, then it appears that all the people of the area indicated belong to the one tribe, which for the time being must remain nameless.[4]

The widely separated locations of the hordes of the same *mala* present a puzzling problem. Probably migration, at least in part, accounts for it. An example of this is found in the Daiorrorr horde of the Berrkali *mala*, which within the lifetime of its present members migrated from the south of Buckingham Bay to its present location on the Goyder River. Possibly some evidence of migration is also found in the legends of the people, including the hordes along the northern coast and the islands adjacent thereto. In these legends a very large proportion of the mythological ancestors whose exploits they relate are represented as having lived and laboured and instituted the customs of the people in the neighbourhood of Caledon and Blue Mud Bays. In some cases these ancestors are represented as starting in at that point and travelling right across the country in a north-westerly direction to the opposite coast. These same legends, with local variations, are apparently found throughout the whole area, and the social organization and the customs of the people are of the one type.

T. THEODOR WEBB

Map of North-East Arnhem Land showing approximate location of aboriginal hordes.

[4]The peoples to the west of the line indicated differ from those referred to in both language and social organization.

532 131 The drawings in polychrome from north-
756 eastern Arnhem Land that accompany this paper[1] were made on sheets of stringy bark (*Eucalyptus tetrodonta*) by three medicinemen, called *marngitmirri*, members of Mildjingi clan of the lower Glyde River, and of two neighbouring clans, Liagauwumirr' and Ngalladar
617 Tjambarpoingo. Mildjingi is a clan of *yiritja* moiety and Liagauwumirr' and Tjambarpoingo are members of the opposite moiety, *dua*, in which certain terminal vowels, notably *i* and *o* are elided as an arbitrary mark of distinction
● [197] between clans of different moieties whose members speak similar languages. In Wanguri clan of the Arnhem Bay area the word *kulong* is applied to the medicineman.

776 In each case the figures drawn by the medicineman
787 represent the spirits called *marngit*, two or more in number, which adopt certain men, often first subjecting
756 them to an ordeal or series of ordeals, after which they are known as *marngitmirri*—medicinemen—and are vested with the special powers of this cult.

The *marngit* or spirit familiars of two of the three medicinemen from eastern Arnhem Land who claimed to be *marngitmirri* are shown in Plates I and J*a*. These *marngit* were said first to have visited the men whom they later adopted, subjecting them to a series of ordeals. Sometimes they brought sickness, in other cases, according to my informants, they inflicted injuries, sometimes actually breaking bones and almost killing the novice, after which they restored him and then invited the initiate in turn to try his own skill by injuring the *marngit* and restoring him. After a more or less lengthy period of trial by way of initiation, the *marngit* finally adopted the *marngitmirri* and thenceforth helped and guided him in the practice of the cult.

756 According to most of my informants, the cult of the *marngitmirri* or medicineman in eastern Arnhem Land is restricted to men only, although it is not a sacred cult and is not secret—that is, it does not depend upon ritual or supernatural backing, and is carried out in open camp without any secrecy, in the presence of women and children. Many of the *marngit*, the spirit familiars them-
[776] selves, were said by my informants to be females. Although women do not appear to become *marngitmirri* they do
[791 practise as rainmakers. Some of the rainmakers of east
562] Arnhem Land, of whom there were three in Mildjingi clan—the clan of Wilindjango—were women, one of whom was renowned for her prowess with the rites and magical spells of the rainmaker. However, although rain-
[788] making depends upon the understanding and correct observance of certain rituals and the use of the appropriate

* *With Plates I and J*

[p. 97 (B)]

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
O117 Murngin O117

CHAPTER SEVEN

Languages, Signs, and Smoke-Signals

●197 POPULAR opinion has it that all aborigines speak one language, and I have often been asked if I can 'speak aboriginal'. Actually, there are scores of different tribal languages throughout Australia, and within these there are hundreds of horde-dialects. In the 34,000 square miles of Arnhem Land there are five distinct languages, one for each of the [621] five groups of hordes, and as there are between a dozen and forty hordes in each horde-group, there are well over a hundred dialects in this small part of Australia.

[114] [621] In the group that I knew best, which extended from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, there were thirty-five hordes, each speaking its own dialect. If you had mastered one of them, Yulengor a few miles away probably could not have understood you. I found that when members of these 191 widely separated hordes met, they could not make themselves 197 understood in their own dialects, but experimented on several till they found one familiar to both parties.

Stone Age men are born linguists, and not only is their speech grammatically correct, but youths amuse themselves by conversing in some little-known dialect. Old Wonggu [522] occasionally introduced a Macassar sentence into ordinary conversation so as to puzzle me, and he would enjoy his joke in using this dialect learnt fifty years previously from East Indian traders. English words and phrases, as well as pidgin English, have occasionally been picked up from traders and beachcombers.

127 191 Since it should be easier for one white man to learn an

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104 rearranged. Consonants also could be revalued to provide for the common 'ng' and 'ny' at the beginning of many words, and for the frequent 'tch' we used 'tj'. Vagaries of
192 pronunciation occurred in unwritten and slurred words, such as 'nama' and 'ngama' (the verbs 'to see' and 'to hear'). For years I was confused by the almost indistinguishable differences (all vowels being short) between the verb 'ngurra' (I lie down), the noun 'ngurru' (a nose), the adjectival suffix 'nguru' (from), and the noun 'ngurra' (a 'fire'). 'Jukor' is a louse whilst any sort of fat is 'jukorr'. There seems to be no connexion between the terms, except
[262] that the fat of any fish or game is considered a rare and
[515] tasty morsel, the sight of it exciting children as much as would a tin of lollies, and head-lice are small fat parasites which women and children gather from each other's heads and eat with obvious relish.

193 It has been said that aboriginal languages have a common root-stock, and that some features are common to them all.
• [197] The indefinite article in language is missing in Arnhem Land, as it is elsewhere, but 'ka' is used in the north as the equivalent of the English conjunction 'and'. With one or two exceptions aboriginal adjectives follow the noun, not only in the north but throughout Australia. Some forms of the pronoun 'ngara' (I) or 'ngaraku' ('my' or 'mine') are found in all dialects from Cape York to Cape Leeuwin. In addition to singular and plural pronouns, there are also first, second, and third duals: 'I', 'you', and 'he' are there; 'ngali' refers to the two of us when both are present; 'nyilinyu' indicates two persons, of whom one is absent—for example, if a man said to me 'Who made that canoe?' and it belonged to an absent friend and me, I should reply 'nyilinyu' (the two of us 'made it'). 'Numa' is the form of 'you two' and 'munda' refers to 'those two'.

The language runs to inclusive and exclusive plurals in which 'napuru' refers exclusively to those of us in the

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vicinity of the speaker and 'limeru' includes everybody, far and wide, such as the human race.

Stone Age men have little use for numbers, for they have so little to count. If a definite number is used at all, it is usually under five. Fingers are the theoretical basis for counting, and one is 'wonggain'; two 'marrama'; three is two plus one; four is two and two; five is known as a hand, 'korng'. Six is hand plus one, and so on to ten, which is two hands, 'korng-marrama'. When pidgin is in use, the numerals are one to five, and after that it is 'big mob'.

Aboriginal languages are 'alive' and are being altered to meet new needs and conditions. Many new words have been absorbed as a result of the Macassars trading here, and so complete has been the acceptance and use of these terms, that the oldest nomads, some of whom travelled to Macassar on the trading proas, do not readily recognize their origin. With the advent of white traders, the Yulengor began to assimilate English words, and at Yirrkala I found a boy called Deamer (steamer) and a girl Giggerat (cigarette). Soap is 'jope', scissors are 'thither', razor is 'yeezer', cockroach 'karkrartj', and from one end of the country to the other, flying fox has been corrupted to 'bailanbok'. A nomad can do no other than reckon the hours of the day by the sun, and as a consequence, clocks and watches are also known as sun, 'wolu'.

'Dimit-dimirr' is the word for barbed fronds on the pandanus palm, as well as for thorny trees and spiky anemones, but now it is given to introduced lemon trees and barbed wire. 'To swim' is 'waitun' and to this they add the suffix 'mirry', something like our suffix 'ful', meaning 'full of', and the resultant 'waitunamirry' becomes a boat's propellor. 'Kurrta', denoting fire, firewood, or smoke, now serves for an engine, and 'kurrtamirry', full of fire, is a shotgun or rifle. Any law is 'rorm', and the verb 'to give' is 'gurrpan', so that to teach something is 'rormgurrpan',

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and a school-teacher becomes 'rorm-gurrpan-a-mirry'. Aboriginal dialects are picturesque, and the same terms are used for objects possessing some similarity; thus, twenty or more names for parts of the body are used for trees and geographical formations. A backbone is the same as a mountain chain; the nose on men, animals, and fish is the same as a peninsular, a cape, or the bow of a boat or canoe; arms, wings, limbs of trees, and tributary streams are all called 'werrna'. A main river stream is called throat. Wounds and sores are classed with holes in utensils, canoes, huts, or clothing.

When human conditions resemble natural phenomena, this process is reversed, and the adjective blunt, 'dumuk', is used for a bush track through thick scrub; a man, too, may be 'blunt' or dull of hearing or intellect and understanding; the word is also in everyday use to describe a blunt axe or knife. Hollow logs or burial posts are 'dupun', and in a mild form of abuse a nomad may be called 'dupun' or empty-headed.

Scores of appropriate place-names occur throughout the country, but it is not surprising that there are also hundreds of other euphonious names having no particular significance, for along the coast and on the countless bush tracks, every waterhole, swamp, hill, river crossing, and ancient camp site has a name. 'Rungi' could be a falling tide, low tide, or an exposed beach, and there are many coastal names linked with rungi. West Arnhem Land is known for its low lying swamps and mudflats, but in the north-east there is a startling change to clean, sandy beaches with bold headlands, and the latter area is called 'Rungi-Poingar'—'the place of beaches'. Most camps are made on beaches or sandy patches in the bush, but a horde in Blue Mud Bay haunts an outcrop of stone and clay far out on a mangrove mud flat, and consequently their camp is known as 'Lokor-Poingar'—'the place of feet'; and the reference is to the spreading mangrove roots or feet.